

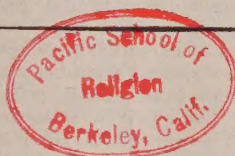
THE WORLD

Vol. XVI
No. 21

TOMORROW

New Deal or New Day

NORMAN THOMAS



A Strategy for Socialists

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

The Pact in Perspective

J. B. MATTHEWS

AUGUST 31st

15 cents a copy, \$3.00 a year

**Why
I
Fasted**

M. K. GANDHI

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Ex Cathedra

AN easy method of determining the
caste of mind of students of politics
and of political observers and theo-
rists is to note their attitude toward the
N.R.A. If they sing paeans of joy over
the victory of "the principles of social con-
trol" as represented in the New Deal, if
they prophesy that it is bound to pull us
out of the depression and if they rejoice
over the coöperation which all the busi-
ness leaders are giving the industrial re-
covery administration, they can be safely
put down as incorrigible liberals. The
reason their attitudes toward the New
Deal is such an unfailling test is that the
real mark of a liberal is his failure to
gauge the power and persistence of reac-
tionary tendencies in politics and business.

THUS, for instance, the newspapers
carry columns almost every day re-
porting addresses by educators, moralists,
preachers and sundry observers who insist
that the New Deal has opened up a new
chapter in our national history, that hence-
forth the "common good" rather than
"private advantage" is to be the motive
of business, that education and the church
must implement governmental policy by
teaching the ideals which the New Deal
embodies, and other similar sentiments. All
of these nice sermonic hopes betray a lack
of sophistication in the field of politics and
economics. They fail to recognize that
the financial power which rules modern
civilization does not capitulate to a new
political force as easily as their theories
assume. It is true, of course, that Ameri-
can capitalists held on to laissez-faire capi-
talism until it broke down under them like
the one-hoss shay. They accepted state
capitalism instead, partly because it was
forced upon them and partly because they
quickly recognized the possibilities of gain-
ing real benefits from it. Insofar as bene-
fits are to be gained, they are for it. Inso-
far as it demands sacrifices from them,
they are busily engaged in sabotaging it
as far as it is possible to do so. Thus
the utility interests and the newspaper
owners and the steel industry have refused
to come into the codes, or have circum-

vented the code provisions or have frankly
defied them.

ALL this does not mean that there are
not distinct gains in the substitution
of state capitalism for the anarchy of
laissez-faire capitalism. The gains would
be disputed only by those who imagine
that there is an advantage in the collapse
of a social system before an alternative
social system is ready to take its place.
Only a very romantic radical could
imagine that the American radical move-
ment has the morale and power to profit
from a collapse of capitalism. A social
system which enjoyed its heyday in 1929
is not going to be supplanted by a new
system in 1935 or even in 1945 without
intermediary stages. The New Deal is
such an intermediary stage.

WHETHER a venture of the type
upon which Roosevelt is engaged is
merely an effort to save capitalism from
complete and premature disintegration or
whether it has possibilities of becoming a
fascist attempt to preserve capitalism be-
yond its day depends altogether upon fu-
ture developments. The economics of the
New Deal and of German fascism are
identical. In both cases the political power
is derived from the small farmer and the
lower middle classes of the city. In both
cases finance and industry have come to
reluctant terms with it and are trying
to exploit it. In both cases political and
state power is used to circumscribe the
freedom of private capitalists. The Ger-
man movement is inimical to organized
labor and the New Deal is not, and the
German movement is supported by a na-
tionalistic hysteria which is lacking in our
situation. But the most outstanding dif-
ference is that the German adventure
represents an effort to maintain a com-
pletely disintegrated fascism by martial
force, while in our case capitalism is
merely mending some of its most flagrant
weaknesses in a natural effort to preserve
itself.

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THE WORLD TOMORROW

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Norman Thomas to Write Regularly

We are extremely pleased to be able to announce that hereafter Norman Thomas will write regularly for **THE WORLD TOMORROW**. He has agreed to interpret current events for our readers at least once a month, and perhaps every fortnight. We are making no invidious comparisons when we state that Mr. Thomas is the most distinguished American Socialist and one of the ablest students of contemporary politics and economics. Old-timers will recall that Norman Thomas was the founder and first editor of this magazine. Beginning with this issue, **THE WORLD TOMORROW** will be published fortnightly, on alternate Thursdays.

No New Party Needed

Toward the leaders and the rank and file of the League for Independent Political Action, **THE WORLD TOMORROW** feels, and will continue to feel, profound respect and fraternity. Nevertheless, we are compelled by recent developments in its activity, and still more by recent shifts in the national scene, to state frankly in these columns that we regard its proposed Chicago Conference, set for September 2 and 3, as unwise, unnecessary and a futile gesture. The call for this conference, signed by L. I. P. A. leaders and 38 liberals, is modest in tone and does not exaggerate either the hopes or the purposes of the meeting. It is to be, they say, "a consultative conference, and whatever action is taken by the delegates can then be recommended to their organizations for consideration and final action." However, the aim of the gathering is definitely "to consider what political action is necessary and whether we need a new united people's or farmer-labor party to meet the emergency." And the answer that will be given to that inquiry, if not by the conference itself, then by the masses eventually, will certainly be No.

Nothing could be more futile in politics than to ignore the profound changes that have been taking place under the Roosevelt Administration. From the Socialist point of view, what we are witnessing is obviously an impressive and rather gallant effort on the part of capitalism's most enlightened representatives to preserve the profit system by reducing competition, to humanize capitalism, to create a planned capitalist economy. We do not yield to the temptations of mere dogma when we express our belief that what is being attempted cannot be done; that at best, capitalism under the liberal formulas of Roosevelt's progressive

aides can merely pull us out of the depression. That any permanent solution to the dilemma of under-consumption, the machine process, and the international flow of raw materials—especially under the present striving toward a nationalistic economics—is possible, with good reason we do not believe. Nevertheless, when the aims of the Ickes-Perkins-Richberg forces at the Capital are compared to those of the previous Administration, the change is indeed breath-taking. Most of the pet nostrums progressives and liberals have advocated throughout the last two decades are now being tried on a huge scale at Washington.

To consider the formation of a new party at such a time, a party that seeks to fit in between the program of Rooseveltian liberalism and that of the Socialist Party of America, seems to us the sheerest madness. The only sound excuse could possibly be the belief of the L. I. P. A. that the Socialist Party can never be the instrument of profound social advance, that it is inelastic and incompetent, that it is virtually hopeless. In fact, not seldom have the leaders of certain groups supporting the L. I. P. A. expressed such sentiments. To hold them today, we contend, is nothing short of preposterous. Whatever the weaknesses of the Socialist Party in the past or in the present, it has been making gigantic strides in the right direction. Its new labor policy has already won it hosts of friends among some of the most powerful unions in the country and brought about an increased respect even among labor leaders who have hitherto looked upon it with aloof scorn. Its exceptionally capable program is being reinforced by a startling growth in the number and in the strength of locals and branches, not only in the industrial centers of the East but in the South and large areas of the agrarian West. Although we have not hesitated to state in these pages our feeling that one or two over-zealous groups of Socialists in the great Continental Congress of Workers and Farmers last May made it unnecessarily hard for some of the western organizations to maintain unruffled patience, yet when every legitimate criticism is voiced, the fact remains that the Socialist Party, in taking the initiative in calling this vast convention, has demonstrated far more capacity to work in united harmony with huge bodies of organized labor and important social-progress organizations than any other political group has exhibited in many years. More: the unity and effectiveness generated at Washington last May have in most places not been dissipated but are being augmented

by the continuance of useful relationships in state after state. There is no charge of weakness or poor tactics which can be soundly levelled today at the Socialist Party which does not apply in greater measure to other bodies seeking a political realignment.

There may be room, even now, to discuss and plan out educational campaigns for the development of anti-capitalist politics along lines which do not precisely coincide with those being followed by American Socialists. But the liberal today belongs behind Roosevelt, backing him up and seeking to maintain a humane and efficient capitalist society. The place for all others, unless they prefer to maintain themselves as pious and super-critical sects, is in the Socialist Party of America.

The Indian Situation

Last May when Gandhi started his 21-day fast to strengthen the reform movement against untouchability, the Congress at his suggestion suspended civil disobedience and Gandhi requested the Government to release political prisoners. This the Government did not do.

In mid-July when Gandhi had recovered from his fast a meeting of over 200 Indian National Congress leaders was called to decide whether civil disobedience should be wholly abandoned or renewed. A number of Congress leaders were discouraged and had publicly advocated its unconditional abandonment. Elated comment in British papers indicated that the British government thought that the Congress morale was gone, and expected that civil disobedience would be called off for good.

The Congressional session was private, but Indian papers report that there was not so much actual discouragement as there was misunderstanding concerning the technique of non-violent resistance. Gandhi furnished an understanding and probably also made the city-bred members realize that to abandon civil disobedience unconditionally would result in losing the chief strength of the Congress, namely, the support of the peasantry who have suffered and sacrificed so much for the cause.

After thorough discussion it was decided to call off the civil disobedience campaign provided Gandhi would reach an "honorable settlement" with the Viceroy, and that if such settlement were not reached, Gandhi should renew civil disobedience in the way he proposed, i.e., with only a few specially disciplined persons, to be followed only by such other individuals as were specially qualified, and with all secrecy discarded. Other Congressmen were to work on untouchability reform, boycott of foreign cloth, promotion of homespun, prohibition, etc. Gandhi, in a tactfully worded telegram asked an interview with the Viceroy, as the Congress had authorized him to do, but the application was flatly

refused unless civil disobedience was first abandoned unconditionally.

In a long statement issued by Gandhi on July 27, in regard to the new campaign of individual civil disobedience, he is reported to have said: "The continuance of civil disobedience, even by one person, ensures its revival by others who might have given it up through despair and weakness. The masses . . . need more training and experience through the example of individuals. If these few are true men and women, I am certain that they will multiply into millions. Their example will prove infectious in a mass awakening that cannot possibly be crushed by any repression, be it ever so ferocious."

Gandhi announced that on August 1, with a selected group of about 25, he would re-commence civil disobedience. On July 31 the Government arrested him and his wife and those special followers; Gandhi was sentenced to one year's imprisonment and the others to various jail terms. A few days later the Congress President, Mr. Aney, followed suit with a small group. They were likewise arrested and jailed.

At the time of going to press, word comes that the British have released Gandhi because of his weakened physical condition, brought on by a fast undertaken eight days ago in protest against the refusal of the Government to allow him the same facilities he had before in prison to aid in the reform movement against untouchability. Thus once again is demonstrated the peculiar potency of the Gandhi strategy.

New York Municipal Politics

Only because of Samuel Seabury's dogged persistence did the fusion forces in New York finally yield and nominate former Congressman LaGuardia rather than Major General O'Ryan. Seabury's victory sent former Governor Whitman, who dictated the O'Ryan choice, into eclipse. The effort of the Republican Old Guard to prevent the nomination of LaGuardia is instructive in revealing how easily reform parties in municipal politics are dominated by "big graft" rather than "little graft," by banking interests who want clean government and economical government chiefly for the purpose of insuring the prompt payment of municipal bonds. The nomination of LaGuardia insures a spirited election campaign and a very good chance for the defeat of Tammany. Tammany meanwhile has come close to securing the support of the Roosevelt administration for its ticket by nominating M. Maldwin Fertig, formerly counsel to Governor Roosevelt, for the aldermanic presidency.

The fact that LaGuardia is the best possible candidate who could have been nominated by the fusion interests does not mean that the Socialists ought to have acted other than they did in nominating their own ticket. We are glad, however, that Norman Thomas

refused to become the perpetual candidate for the party, alternating as candidate for the presidency of the United States and the mayoralty of New York. It is becoming increasingly apparent that municipal socialism is impossible in a nation in which there is a nationally organized capitalistic economy. Socialists ought to use municipal campaigns for the purposes of propaganda. But they can do little to establish national socialism by municipal experiments. Of this truth Milwaukee is an instructive example. The problem of building an adequate Socialist party on a national scale is a gigantic one, and is more important than any municipal campaign.

We hope that Tammany will be defeated, but we do not expect a millenium in New York through such a defeat. The day is too late and the crisis in capitalistic society is too severe to justify the hope that either municipal reformism or municipal socialism (which is bound to be very similar to municipal reformism) will greatly affect the future of our civilization. Any higher degree of honesty in municipal government is a gain, but it has little or nothing to do with the tremendous issues which will be fought out in national terms in the next decades.

Four and a Half Billions Offered

The August 15th financing of the United States Treasury took the form of a combined offering of treasury bonds and notes totaling 850 million dollars, of which 500 millions consisted of eight-year $3\frac{1}{4}\%$ bonds, and 350 millions of two-year $1\frac{5}{8}\%$ notes. Not only was the entire issue of 850 millions quickly taken, but the total subscriptions reached four and a half billion dollars. A significant aspect of the 500-million-dollar bond issue was the failure to include the customary exemption from income surtaxes, the exemption applying only to the normal rate of income tax. The difference becomes apparent when one recalls that the maximum normal income tax is eight per cent, while the highest surtax is 55 per cent. The over-subscription of this issue, with such conditions attached, by six-fold indicates not only revealed confidence in the federal government and the fact that investors' cash is extremely plentiful, but also that exemption from the high surtaxes is not essential to floating government securities on favorable terms.

In voicing its approval of the Treasury policy, the *Financial Chronicle* says editorially: "We deem it a mistake to cut off such a large source of revenue as is involved in the surtax levies. . . . We often urged upon both Mr. Mellon and Mr. Mills the discontinuance of the practice of putting out Government obligations that were free from the high surtaxes." The loss of revenue from this source is extremely heavy. Mr. Evans Clark, in his authoritative study of debt in the United States, says that "the volume of securities

wholly exempt from the federal income tax has grown to approximately 26 billion dollars. In addition, there are some 12 billion dollars of federal securities which are exempt from the normal tax only." It will be seen that at four per cent the interest on the first type exceeds a billion dollars annually. Secretary Hull, in his last days in the Senate, introduced a proposed amendment to the Constitution empowering Congress to tax all kinds of securities. An awakened public opinion should demand the passing of such legislation and the utilization of extremely high surtaxes in the upper brackets of income, both as a source of revenue and as a means of limiting excessive fortunes in a land where multitudes are in dire distress.

Cuba—Libre?

Cuba's next regular presidential election, barring upsets in the proposed routine, will take place in November, 1934. Until that time the new president, Dr. Carlos Manuel de Cespedes, will have an opportunity to see whether he can satisfy the natural aspirations of the Cuban people for political liberty, and—perhaps actually more important to them—their desire for economic security and a chance to live from their labor.

More than that, the United States will have an opportunity to see whether it can proceed with the development of an economic policy toward the island as enlightened as the policy, on the whole, which contributed to the successful revolution, the sole successful revolution ever attempted in the island republic. That the Administration in a general way deserves credit is apparent. It could easily have slipped over into intervention, which has on the whole been our policy in times of great stress under previous regimes at Washington. It may be doubted whether the Roosevelt-Hull-Welles combination would have acted in precisely the manner they did had the Cubans appeared determined to put through a *bona fide* economic revolution against capitalism; after all, Cespedes is a capitalist and hardly more than a mild liberal, who shines brightly just now because anything at all is a refreshing contrast following the butchery and greed of the Machado machine—a machine, too, it must not be forgotten, which arose as a puppet government to cover up our own sugar profiteers. Nevertheless, it is a fact that rather than intervene by arms, we deliberately encouraged by our acts such groups as the ABC, the student-intellectual organization, to wage a potent struggle against the tyrant.

President Roosevelt will serve the Cuban people at least better than they have been served in recent times at the hands of the United States if he is successful in developing an economic relationship which cuts down the Cuban debt, promotes agrarian reform, and actually offers Cuban exporters a chance to sell their sugar here in a fair market. If he is to be successful

in the last particular, which is of great immediate importance, he will have to deal harshly with the coterie of American sugar barons who have been yelling for nothing less than the erection of an anti-import wall against Cuba. Infinite values are at stake in terms of Latin American relations, for the nations to the south will watch eagerly to see whether the government here will proceed on the basis that the common international welfare must take precedence over the grabbing tactics of our own refining and producing monopolies. Finally, no assured freedom can belong to the Cubans until the Platt Amendment, fastening upon the country the stigma of a virtual vassal state, ceases to exist.

Not the least interesting phenomenon of the revolution, for pacifists, is the fact that it was won, on its tactical side, by a general strike accompanied by a determined non-violent attack. True enough, the peculiar fiendishness of Machado, whose regime had been characterized by assassination of brilliant opposition leaders and frequently by torture, engendered such intense bitterness that, once the lid came off, some three dozen of the former President's cruel henchmen were ruthlessly slaughtered by mobs. Yet of itself, the strike which finally forced out the dictator was one of the most illuminating recent examples of how a union of intellectuals and labor, acting in solidarity, can vastly minimize violence and effect a constructive social revolution by the potency of its organization.

Kidnapping Plus Panic

Kidnapping is a revolting crime, especially when it exposes young children to risk and utilizes the finest instincts of those who love them as a means of extorting ransom. Thanks to the fulsome stories printed in the sensational press as much as anything else, it has been indubitably on the increase. The wave of kidnappings has revealed, however, how easy it is for yellow newspapers whose contribution to this crime is heavy, to stir into a veritable frenzy a public which, though ignorant of many a social problem, is most ignorant of all, possibly, with respect to crime. A civilization which produces almost universal corruption in municipal politics, graft throughout business, exploitation in industry, suddenly forgets its responsibilities, thinks in terms of "mad dogs" and peculiarly evil individuals, and shrieks for vengeance.

Thus it is that Walter H. McGee has been doomed to hang by a Kansas City, Missouri, jury for kidnapping the daughter of the city manager. McGee, be it noted, is an ex-convict, the product, clearly, of a penal system that has totally failed in its professed efforts to reform him. The county prosecutor, T. A. J. Mastin, in commenting on the verdict, declared: "It will be a wonderful benefit not only to Jackson County but to every State in the Union that is made a prey of kidnapers. The influence as a deterrent to criminals

and as an aid to public protection of one hanging verdict in a kidnapping case is greater than the influence of penitentiary terms to twenty kidnapers."

With this sincere but somewhat smug self-satisfaction, we cannot agree. Kidnappers, in any event, are desperate persons, not at all likely to be affected by the difference in risk between the death penalty and severe imprisonment. And for that matter, the record shows that all but invariably the sentences passed on recent kidnapers, when apprehended, have been heavy. Ralph Hall was given 25 years for the kidnapping of Haskell Bohn, of St. Paul; Allen August and G. T. Clarke were given from five to 25 years for the kidnapping of Jackie Russell in Brooklyn, and many other equally heavy sentences might be cited.

It is not the severity of the sentence but the certainty of arrest and conviction which, if anything, will from the legal point of view prove most efficacious. Instead of this, hysterical sentiment has been turned with a nearly unanimous ineffectiveness toward vindictive punishment. Anything which has so egregiously failed as a deterrent from murder is certain to fail as a deterrent from kidnapping.

Except in the case of certain degenerates, kidnapping as a whole is nothing more nor less than an exceptionally vicious racket, an effort to get something for nothing. It must be handled as are all other rackets, and while of course the machinery for prevention and capture can be strengthened and made more efficient, the only basic remedy is to root out those factors in our society which have caused the weeds of graft to flourish as the green bay tree.

The I. L. P. and the Comintern

The results to date of the effort on the part of the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain to form a united front with the Communist Party are illuminating for American Socialists. The letter of the I. L. P. to the Communist International, dated May 18, did not bring forth a reply until June 24. The substance of the Comintern's proposals is that the I. L. P. should be more relentless in its criticism of the British Labour Party, and more zealous in its support of the Communist Party. "If the members of the Independent Labour Party," writes the Communist International, "are really developing in the direction of adopting our programme, then possibilities open up in Great Britain for the formation of a single, strong, mass Communist Party. . . . If the Independent Labour Party energetically assists the struggle of the Communist International this will be of great international significance."

Here is clearly stated the only kind of united front in which the Comintern is interested. It is analogous to the proposal of certain religious leaders that unity be secured by having all other bodies join their denomination. Evidence on this point is voluminous and in-

escapable. In its reply to the Comintern, the I. L. P. complains of the Communist International's policy of "treating sections of the working-class outside its own ranks as enemies, indistinguishable from the Fascists and the most reactionary capitalists." That this is the Communist Party's attitude could easily be demonstrated by citing a mass of quotations from official declarations and utterances by high officials.

Stalin, in his second volume on *Leninism*, just published in this country, writes: "In order that the fight against Social-Democracy may be carried on successfully, attention must be sharply directed to the question of fighting the so-called 'Left' wing of Social-Democracy, that 'Left' wing which, by playing with 'Left' phrases and thus adroitly fooling the workers, is retarding the desertion of the workers from Social Democracy."

In accordance with this policy, Communist leaders in Great Britain are making vitriolic attacks upon Fenner Brockway and other I. L. P.'ers. Thus Harry Pollitt headed an article in the *Daily Worker* (British): "Brockway Goes Over to the Counter-Revolution," and maintained that Brockway strove "to whitewash the appalling treachery of the Social-Democracy on the one hand and to discredit the Communist International on the other."

Persons who are familiar with the record of the various Communist parties will not be surprised at this attitude toward the I. L. P. As to the practicability of a united front, perhaps no more eminent authority can be quoted than Stalin. In the volume referred to above, in answering the question: "Is it possible to unite the Second and Third Internationals?" Stalin replies: "I think it is impossible. It is impossible because the Second and Third Internationals have two entirely different viewpoints and have two different objects in view. . . ."

Readers of *THE WORLD TOMORROW* will be especially interested in Stalin's attitude toward pacifism. In *Leninism* he says bluntly:

"The most popular method of lulling the working class and diverting it from the struggle against the danger of war is present-day pacifism, with its League of Nations, the gospel of 'peace,' the 'outlawry' of war, the nonsense about 'disarmament,' and so forth. . . . And the most important thing in all this is the fact that Social-Democracy is the principal conveyor of imperialist pacifism among the working class, and is, therefore, the principal support of capitalism within the working class in the matter of preparation for new wars and for intervention . . . pacifism is preached through the mouths of the Social-Democrats in order the more successfully to prepare for new wars. . . . From this follow the duties of the Communist Parties: Firstly, to carry on an incessant struggle against Social-Democracy along every line, both economic and political, including the exposure of every form of pacifism, with the object of winning over the majority of the working class."

Toward Socialized Banking

Not one citizen of the United States out of a thousand is informed as to the extent of government banking in this country, or realizes the significance of the prevailing trend. The following citation of evidence by Professor John Hanna of Columbia University in a recent issue of the *American Bankers Association Journal*, sounds incredible even to the more or less sophisticated readers of *THE WORLD TOMORROW*:

America's biggest banker today is the Federal Government. The United States is now operating 52 financing institutions. Forty of these are owned entirely by the Government. In twelve more the Government has already a two-thirds interest. Thirty-seven are intended to be permanent. Twenty-five of the permanent ones and 14 of the temporary ones are agricultural. The capital stock held by the United States in these banks has a par value of \$1,380,000,000. The Government's total investment is nearly \$2,000,000,000. Resources of these institutions exceed \$3,000,000,000. In addition the Government has detailed supervision over 51 mortgage banks, operating under Federal charter. The Government also supervises 4,600 local agricultural loan associations with Federal charters.

Since Professor Hanna's summary was compiled, the Government has plunged still further into the banking business. The Glass-Steagall Bank Act of 1933 provides 150 million dollars from the Treasury as part of a pool of 500 millions for the insurance of bank deposits through the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. A new organization known as the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works has been erected and given an operating fund of \$3,300,000,000. The Farm Credit Act of 1933 provides for the organization of 12 corporations, to be known as Production Credit Corporations, and 12 banks, to be known as Banks for Coöperatives, with a revolving credit of 120 million dollars, and the Governor of the Farm Credit Administration is empowered to establish a Central Bank for Coöperatives. Then there is the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, with two billion dollars from the Federal Treasury for the purpose of refinancing mortgages of small home owners.

All these steps together are taking us a long way toward governmental banking, but they are not the measures Socialists recommend, because for the most part they are designed to rescue and restore capitalistic industry, finance, and agriculture. But they do make ridiculous the assertion that governmental banking is impracticable. Without direct governmental participation in banking this country would have been scourged much more disastrously than it has been, and from now on it will be quite impossible to get the government out of the banking business. The only live alternatives are: shall the government continue to act as a rescue squad for private capitalists, or shall it socialize the entire banking system and transform it into an instrument of equalization and social welfare?

New Deal or New Day

NORMAN THOMAS

THERE is no better way to begin this informal and personal discussion of some aspects of current events and their significance, which I hope to continue in *THE WORLD TOMORROW*, than by considering the two questions which are on all our lips: Are we really going to get out of this depression? And if so, how far and in what direction are we going?

It is really the second of these questions which I want to discuss. Concerning the first, so fast do events move, we are likely to know more by the time this article is printed than we do when it is written. Let me briefly and dogmatically say that under the operation of the National Industrial Recovery Act and the Agricultural Adjustment Act I think we have an even, or slightly better than even, chance to get out of the depression—which is a very different thing from attaining true prosperity. Capitalism in England and elsewhere, without the blessing of the N.R.A., is once more showing its amazing recuperative power, or perhaps I should say the amazing patience of masses willing to be satisfied with so little. The revolution from a completely decadent laissez-faire capitalism to a state capitalism vigorously and intelligently organized will probably remove enough of the palsied indecision, the grosser wastes, and the more exasperating abuses of the old system to give to it some extension of life.

Probably, but by no means certainly. There are plenty of disquieting statistics. The rate of recovery has been checked. In the automobile industry the rate of production greatly outstripped both the increase in the number of workers employed and the total sum paid out in wages. There is talk of inflation on a large scale, which, coming at a time when minimum wages under the various codes have already been adjusted, will mean that prices will far outstrip spending power in the hands of the masses, and so, after a brief and riotous orgy, wreck recovery. If these perils are avoided, it is still far from certain how competing national economies can bring even temporary prosperity in an interdependent world. Finally, without providing sufficient relief for the unemployed, we continue to pile up a burden of debt and claims for interest on the national income at a rate that may still outstrip production.

But assuming that these dangers will be somewhat minimized and their evil consequences postponed, what then? Certainly we cannot stand still. We shall either move forward to some sort of socialism or make the terrible plunge to fascism. What we have now is

neither socialism nor fascism in any true sense of either word, but it contains possibilities of developing into either form of social organization. We have an immensely bold attempt to stabilize capitalism by means of a partnership between industry, the workers and the government. The terms of this partnership, as it is being worked out by President Roosevelt and his very competent associates, have been far more hopefully affected by Socialist teaching and Socialist immediate demands than seemed at all probable prior to March 4. It was not the Democratic but the Socialist program that demanded great-scale public works, federal unemployment relief, federal action to abolish child labor, the 30-hour week, etc. Nevertheless, all these things, including some qualified right to labor to bargain collectively, may be not only consistent with state capitalism, but a necessary condition of its continuance. What is worse, they do not of themselves constitute a bulwark against fascism, and may even lull the workers into a false sense of security from it.

THE differences between fascism and true socialism are these: Fascism is undemocratic and ruthlessly dictatorial, not merely to meet a temporary emergency, but in its inner spirit. It makes a religion, and a very evil religion, of blind conformity in the worship of that monstrous thing the "totalitarian state", the nationalist state, worship of which so hypnotizes the masses that they can no longer examine the conditions of peace and prosperity. The economics of fascism are the economics of state capitalism such as we already have, a capitalism which curbs the power of individual capitalists and grants concessions to labor, but which still protects private absentee ownership of production and the great natural resources, and grants to absentee owners immense tribute in profit, rent and interest. True socialism is international in outlook and democratic in spirit and, so far as possible, in method. It worships no "totalitarian state," but sets as its goal a confederation of coöperative commonwealths in which our great resources, our public services, including banking, and our immense aggregations of machinery will be socially owned and managed for use instead of for private profit.

It is clear that so far the New Deal, while it is not fascist, has not even begun to give us one of these essential conditions of socialism. It has already become, perforce, nationalistic. It saved the banking system only to give it back to the bankers. It is trying to stabilize an essentially capitalistic agriculture by the

only possible method, that is, by subsidizing artificial scarcity. It is rehabilitating the railroads for the benefit of stock and bond holders and at added cost to the process of nationalization which ultimately will be necessary. As I write, the President is trying to force a code on bituminous coal operators who have long mismanaged an industry now so sick that it cannot be saved except by social ownership. There has not even been talk of a capital levy to rid us of the most oppressive of our debt burdens. All in all, we are being treated to the extraordinary spectacle of a government which is doing for a class of absentee owners what they could not do themselves and turning over the profits to them.

Just in proportion as the seriousness of the temporary emergency abates, labor is likely to ask what sanctions are left for the old system. The answer cannot possibly be given in terms of a vague and unreal partnership. It will have to be given either in an advance toward socialism or by hypnotizing and intimidating the workers under fascism. Against the drift toward fascism something more than the good intentions of a few individuals, no matter how highly placed, will be necessary. The popular temper in America contains plenty of encouragement to fascism. We have our abominable racial and national prejudices, our unscientific impatience of democracy, and an almost hysterical willingness to worship the strong man. Our capitalist interests are still immensely powerful, and, with whatever reluctance, are just as likely as those in Italy or Germany to prefer fascism to socialism. Still worse, American labor is less well organized and not nearly as well grounded in socialist idealism as European workers. Yet it is in the great producing masses that our chief hope lies of moving toward socialism rather than toward fascism.

THE one thing—and it is a great thing—which the N.R.A. does for us in this connection is to insist on labor's right to organize and bargain collectively. The rest is up to the workers more truly than it is up to the President or Congress. By their organization they may conceivably find the road to socialism made smoother and more peaceful than a few months ago we could have assumed possible. But the organization that moves toward socialism has to be far more zealously eager for the rights of the unskilled and of the Negroes than the official labor movement has yet been. It has to be far more efficient and at the same time far less bureaucratic and essentially undemocratic than it has been. Above all, it must realize that the state which controls both agriculture and industry must primarily be controlled either by and for an owning class for its profit, or by and for the great mass of workers. The question of political organization becomes of paramount importance.

What will the workers do? Only the event can

decide, and the event is not written in the stars but is subject to influence by our own efforts. There are both encouraging and discouraging elements in the picture, upon which I may later have occasion to comment. There is, however, some solid ground for hope in the excellence of certain of the codes, in the new-found energy of the A. F. of L. and its new and more statesman-like attitude toward its old enemies, craft divisions and jurisdictional disputes. It is of the utmost importance that the A. F. of L. should rise to the emergency rather than that the workers should go through the difficult and discouraging attempt to form new unions, many of them necessarily in opposition to existing unions. This is the position of the Socialist Party, to which in spite of some exceptions prompted by undue impatience on the one hand and by undue servility to A. F. of L. officialdom on the other, it has fairly effectively held. Naturally, under the circumstances, the main progress at present is in the industrial field. In the nature of things that comes first. But no progress in the industrial field can take the place of the effective political action of which I have spoken. If we are to avoid fascism, it will not be by waiting for the Republican or the Democratic Party automatically to become Socialist. It will require a new political alignment, and that right speedily.

A Mexican Penitentiary

TO a patio with a fountain,
With sunshine and spaces airy,
From corridors rayed-out like halls
Visioned in "Caligari,"
Prisoners come, intent as hens
When the grain is scattered,
And bits of handiwork are sold
And bits of English smattered.

We walk to a gate with the warden
And here, between the walls,
We find a garden where the flowers
Are bright as festivals.
The convicts leap, like giant crickets,
And seize the flowers like thieves
To compliment the visitor,
Whose voice of thanking grieves
Because the prison-garden
Is desolate again.

A convict smiles, and answers:
"We don't need flowers. We're men."

IDELLA PURNELL

A New Strategy for Socialists

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

A RADICAL American labor leader recently said: "The destruction of the Socialist movement in Germany and the subsequent annihilation of the trade unions will mean a complete reorientation of radicalism in the Western world but it will require the radicals several years to realise that fact." That statement was correct in its recognition of both the necessity for reconsidering policy and the difficulty in persuading Western radicals of that need. Many of them prefer to ball their fists at fascism and cry to heaven against Fascist atrocities. Or they give themselves to the vain hope that the support of the little remnant of émigré socialism which has established itself in Prague is a significant gesture. The real fact is that democratic socialism is dead in Germany. Radicalism is not dead. In fact if Hitler does not solve his economic problem with greater success than now seems probable unhappy Germany will add another chapter to an unhappy history, and the present regime will go up in bloodshed. In such an eventuality the radical forces will consist of former Socialists and former Communists as well as the radical wing of fascism. But we may be quite certain that the present official social democracy will have little to do with the leadership.

Fascism has succeeded in Germany because the radical cause was unable to achieve any degree of unity among the various types of poor—the poorer middle classes, the skilled workers and the unskilled workers. The first turned to facism and became the confused supporters of a dying and frantic capitalism, the second expressed themselves in a sleepily fatalistic and parliamentary socialism, and the third, led from Russia, operated through communism, and futilely tried to make the Russian pattern fit the complexities of German life. This unholy division between the various classes which capitalism disinherits makes the continuance of a particularly brutal type of capitalism possible. If we cannot learn from the mistakes made in the German situation, something very similar will take place in every Western nation. The only difference will be that the resentments of a defeated nation generated a type of nationalistic sentiment in Germany for which there will probably be no parallel in any other nation.

The first difficulty to be considered is that neither socialism nor communism has been able to win over the poorer middle classes of the cities or the poorer farmers. It has usually been assumed among radicals that the natural individualism and political ineptitude and confusion of these classes make them politically unimportant, and that sooner or later they can be har-

nessed to any political machine which succeeds in establishing itself. Now it has been proved that they have the vehemence and resentment to create a political machine of their own. It is true, of course, that the money of big industrialists is used to fashion this machine. But it is not true that these classes are purely the tools of the industrialists and that they have no political sentiments of their own. They have merely failed to respond to the particular type of radical political theory which the industrial worker elaborates. Their failure to respond to Marxian radicalism is due partly to their want of understanding of the true realities of modern economic society. But that is not the only difficulty. Some of the difficulties are on the Marxian side.

MARXIAN collectivism is too dogmatic to capture these classes. Collectivism and socialization must be the creed of any really radical party. The big centers of finance and industry must be socialized if modern society is to live. But what shall be done with private property where property is not power but merely a chance to perform a social function in terms of relative security: the property of the small trader and the farmer for instance? Marxism has everywhere driven the farmer into the arms of reaction. The farmer is radical insofar as he wants to destroy a financial system which robs him of his farm. But he would like actually to have the farm and run it himself. If small farming is not economically feasible, events will have to prove that to him. The ruthlessness of the Russian Communists in subjecting the peasants to a policy of collectivism, which really represents the imperialism of urban politics, has made every peasant in Europe violently anti-radical. The Russians did not have to worry about this problem because the peasant's desire for land and for peace prompted him to support their revolution long enough to give them the political power. But the uncompromising policy of dogmatic communism toward the problem of small trade and small farming will drive the lower middle classes into the arms of reaction throughout the entire Western world. Dogmatic communism hasn't the slightest idea of how to deal with the neutral and semi-neutral forces in a great historical struggle. Such forces did not really exist in Russia, and the Russian pattern therefore offers no way out. Following the Soviet pattern in the West can only serve to drive semi-neutral and semi-sympathetic social forces into the enemy's camp.

The mistake of dealing inadequately with the eco-

conomic problem of the lower middle classes belongs to communism rather than socialism, though the latter has never had a really convincing program for the farmers. But there are other mistakes in strategy which Socialists and Communists make in common. Marxism declares that the worker has no country, and it expresses itself in terms of extreme cynicism toward national sentiments of all kinds. This has not prevented German socialism from compromising with national sentiment to a dangerous degree. The Socialist began by scorning and ended by capitulating to national sentiment. This sentiment, particularly powerful in the middle classes, ought rather to be regarded as a datum and as a resource. A creative American radicalism must learn, for instance, to exploit the radical element in the American tradition. There is no reason why national sentiment should become the tool of capitalism. To insist that it invariably is such merely results in giving the capitalists the chance of posing as patriots and of actually making patriotism a source of confusion. It would probably be an advantage for any radical party in the Western world to have only consultative relations with similar parties in other nations in order to destroy that particular hazard to their success. Whatever their pretensions, such internationals are really only consultative anyway. If they are more than that, as in the case of the Third International, they are dangerous. The Russians tried to direct the German Communist Party, and no less a critic than Trotsky has proved that they made a mess of it. They failed partly because the Russians did not understand German conditions and partly because national interests of their own interfered with a policy best suited to the German situation. It might be added in addition that they destroyed the moral prestige and integrity of the German leaders by the autocratic control under which these leaders were held. That type of autocracy can hardly be expected to make for strong character.

NO nation is wholly unique. Capitalism has common characteristics in every Western nation. But there are peculiar circumstances in each nation, and a successful leadership must be rooted in the national soil and must appropriate the national tradition wherever it can. Outraging national sentiments by a dogmatic type of internationalism, too rationalistic to realize that national sentiment is a perennial force in human affairs, is a costly business for a radical party.

The Marxian attitude toward cultural traditions and inheritances, including religion, has the same effect of alienating the middle classes in which these traditions still have power. It is as foolish to say that religion is constitutionally counter-revolutionary as to declare that education is. Both the religious and educational institutions of conservative classes are naturally conservative. These classes will try to use both education and

religion for their reactionary purposes, and they will succeed to a large measure. But that does not prove that something inherent in them makes them conservative. There are in fact resources for both conservatism and radicalism in religion, and only a dogmatic radicalism fails to make these discriminations—a failure which forces historical cultural influences to the side of reaction.

In all these matters communism is a more serious offender than socialism. Socialism has made compromises in practice but not in theory, and its compromises cannot truly be said to have had any serious effect upon the middle classes.

THUS far my emphasis has been upon those weaknesses of Marxism which drive the middle classes needlessly into the arms of the reactionary. Such an emphasis may prompt the erroneous conclusion that the argument intends one of those dilutions of Marxism about which we hear so much from liberal intellectuals. But Marxism must not only avoid dividing the middle-class poor from the industrial poor: it must avoid the division between Socialists and Communists within the labor ranks. And this can be done not by a less rigorous but by a more rigorous Marxism. Communism thrives wherever socialism becomes filled with liberal illusions. The chief of all these illusions is to underestimate the power and persistence of the reactionary impulse in society, to imagine that an established and hereditary privilege in any society can be subdued by compromise or by a parliamentary majority, or (to choose a current liberal hope) that a new code will draw its fangs. The social struggle is a much more desperate thing than most parliamentary socialism has imagined. The workers who are facing the full realities of that struggle instinctively feel that a sleepy confidence in constitutionalism is a revelation of the failure to gauge the real character of that struggle. They therefore espouse communism. Socialist strictures against communism are pathetic because Socialist weakness creates the opportunities for communism.

In every constitutional and democratic country socialism will naturally make use of the democratic tradition to the fullest possible extent. It cannot rise to power without consolidating its forces in political and parliamentary terms. But it will be pragmatic rather than dogmatic in its parliamentarism. As the new Socialist league of the British Labor Party, it will insist that it cannot permit a Fascist group to use parliamentary freedom to sabotage a Socialist state. It will recognize that in every social struggle moments of crisis arise in which dogmatic adherence to constitutionality is fatal, particularly since every legal system must be regarded as a rationalization of a given equilibrium of political and economic power and can therefore hardly be a perfect instrument for changing the equilibrium.

One might sum the matter up with the insistence that a successful radical movement must be more certain about the essentials of Marxian theory and less dogmatic about the non-essentials. It must be certain about the reality of the class struggle and recognize that economic privilege will use every device and exploit every policy to escape the inevitable. Any easy hopes about the possibilities of transmuting a capitalist society into a Socialist one are certain to be disappointed. In non-essentials, however, Marxian dogma-

tism has become an increasing burden to the labor movement. The development of the middle classes is one part of modern history which Marx did not prophesy with complete accuracy. The power and persistence of middle-class interest therefore invalidate most of the political policies which are based upon the assumption that the middle classes will be readily reduced to the ranks of the disinherited or that they will be easily ground to powder between the upper and the nether millstone.

Smoldering Peace in Palestine

SYDNEY HUNT

THE clash between Jew and Arab in Palestine is not one merely of religion or of national hatred or of economic competition; it is the turmoil of all these, culminating in the psychological struggle of a passive culture resisting annihilation at the hands of a dynamic invasion.

The Arab race that has occupied Palestine for the last thirteen hundred years has become a dreamy, romantic people more interested in the exchange of polite conventionalities than in girdling itself with the limits of a time clock. The fire of the flighty and violent Arab temper is short-lived, glowing usually as a hearth of limitless hospitality. As a people, the Arabs are permeated with the fatalism of Islam, a faith to whose adherents religion is a daily affair, not a Sunday suit. If one is struck by an automobile, it is from God; if the baby dies—from God; if the peasants are poor, that also is from God. This dependence on Allah has led to social stagnation, from the point of view of the Western world.

The Zionist movement is a powerfully organized crusade harking back to Roman methods of peaceful penetration. The Jewish colonizers do not destroy the land, they buy it. They conquer with a weapon unavailable to their opponent—money, money in large sums contributed by America and South Africa. The campaign is managed on twentieth century tactics: the finances are pooled; large tracts of lands are purchased by the organization and sublet or sold to the settlers on easy instalments. The colonies are subsidized with modern equipment. Very few of them are actually self-supporting, most of them being dependent on the wealth amassed by the sponsors of the new Jewish nation.

It is natural that the Zionists should desire coöperation with the Arabs, for their own protection and to show the world that there is no opposition to their endeavors. The Arabs cannot now resist; they are in

the meshes of a bewildered helplessness, but to sanction friendship would be to throw over the struggle and assist in ousting themselves from their land. Their only defense, they feel, is the boycott of Jews and things Jewish—a protest to the world. A few weeks ago the High Commissioner invited noted Jews and Arabs to dinner to consider "intellectual coöperation." Naught came of it, for the Arab answer was, "Would this not announce to the world that we acquiesced in our displacement?" Jewish shops display signs in Arabic. Jewish business people speak Arabic as the Arabs. But an Arab ignores the existence of the language of his neighbor.

THE sullen, stubborn resistance to the Jew arises from three great problems: the difficulty of two people's trying to stand on the same spot; the undermining of an old culture by a pulsating, youth-attracting gayety; the commercial supremacy of an increasing minority.

The clash is evinced in its most tangible form in connection with the land question. Much of Palestine is still in feudal or semi-feudal tenure. Under Turkish rule tax-oppressed peasants turned their lands over to the *effendis*, who by virtue of government positions were exempt from taxation and hence could afford ownership. These great landowners see fortunes now in speculating with the Zionist organization. On the vast estates are the peasant laborers who have toiled for generations under semi-feudal tenure. So obsolete are the farming methods here that a five-hundred-acre farm is not an investment. The only really profitable industry now is the orange grove. If the *effendi* sells half his antiquated estate and converts the rest into a citrous plantation, he can double his income. Who has the money to buy his land? Zion. Zion wants the land for its colonists. Where do the old inhabitants go? Presumably they wander off into the desert.

ENMITY becomes personal where the two cultures have contact. Arab culture veils its women, even to the hands. Women are *hareem*, sacredly taboo. At a feast men dance with men and women with women—apart. They do not understand European “hugging” in public. In good Arab circles one may not even ask after a man’s wife any more directly than by making a general enquiry about the family. Women are not to be seen on the streets at night. They do not sit in cafes or restaurants. They are given in marriage. Young men may not look upon the taboo. A woman, by her build apparently above the middle years, fell in a street of Jerusalem. Men, obviously gentlemen, looked concernedly, but they passed on; the lady would have been insulted had they placed a hand on her, even for assistance.

A fair-faced, bare-armed, high-heeled young Jewess trips into such a setting as a match into a barrel of fireworks; the old crackers give disgruntled little fizzes but the fresh ones explode. When a young man may not see a pretty Arab face, the alternative is a pretty Jewish face. Though he despise it politically, it is possible to disjoint, at least for an evening, the mind from the heart. And then there is the ubiquitous cinema, with its lessons of high life in England and America, its half-naked women, its cocktails (Islam forbids alcohol), its hugging and its kissing. Is not America earthly paradise and are not the British the ruling lords from whom the young Arabs are to learn? Curse the British, say the old fathers; curse the cinema! And all the cinemas are Jewish. On the way home from the pictures there are new cafes with “hug-music” and women—women dressed like those on the screen. And the new cafes are Jewish.

What does the father think when he beholds the son, reared to head the family, to dispense the sisters in marriage and to fulfil the duties to the Prophet; this son he beholds slowly tainted with European crudity, enjoying “hug” noise as much as his own melancholy pipes, adding cards and laughter to the quiet of evening coffee. The process is a natural consequence of stimulated contact with Europe through the mandate, but the Jews are the most numerous importers of the new-fangled ways. Again, the resistance is weak. There is not a case known of a Jew who has taken an Arab to wife; but Arabs, especially those living near the gay Jewish cities, have taken Jewesses, to the disgust of the community.

THE older culture is keenly aware of its competition. The few enlightened desperately acknowledge the distressing facts: the largest Arabic library in the country is in the Hebrew University, the only university in the country; the electrical supply of the nation is Rothenburg’s on the Jordan. If an Arab builds a modern house he must call a Jew to do the plumbing. It is true there are Arabs grasping at the new methods.

There are Arab bus lines, Arab factories and Arab modernisms. But the handicap of the old world is more weighty than the impetus of the new.

The situation is not the result of incompetence succumbing to ability or indolence shamed by industry; it is the story of an endowed civilization superimposed as a veneer on one which has not yet had time to catch up; on one which sees itself standing alone, unrepresented in its government, a government admittedly dedicated to preventing resistance.

Those on the spot have no illusion about peace in Palestine. Ask an Arab on the street, and his answer will be “Take the British out and we’ll kill them.” In adjacent Transjordan where the Arabs are armed by custom, the Jews have legally rented land but they dare not occupy it. In Palestine the British force has been doubled since 1929. Armed camps are maintained on the border ready to rush in.

Peace exists now for three reasons: the British; discouragement of the Arab leaders; discouragement of the Arab people. How long such a peace will be maintained depends on the British, whose patronage of Zionism caused the trouble and whose army suppresses any opposition.

The Understanding

WHENEVER he would pass this certain tree,
He would look up quickly and would smile;
If there were no one else about, he might
Stop beneath its branches for a while.

It was not a very vigorous tree,
A maple with some branches plainly dead
And more boughs on the south side than the north,
Not a tree to make one turn his head.

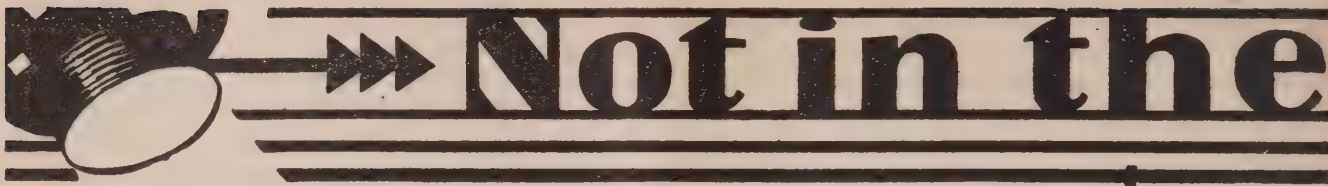
But this man knew a thing which only those
Who live with something long may ever know;
The tree was like a parlor in his brain
Where only just the finest things must go.

Perhaps part of the reason was the way
This tree of all around turned red in fall
With a sudden fierceness and became
A red so deep it seemed one dreamed it all.

But there was more about it than this red.
The tree was like something the man had learned
Long years ago while reading, when the words
Took fire suddenly and rose and burned.

He put his mind around it as an oak
Puts roots about a deep and hidden spring,
To him it was an endless wedding night,
The godlike frenzy in a wild duck’s wing.

ROBERT P. TRISTRAM COFFIN



Why Banks Close

Under this head *Business Week* interprets a bank failure in Cleveland: "The Guardian Trust Company of Cleveland, a 150 million dollar state bank which went into liquidation following the events of March, 'window-dressed' its statements, had no clearing house examination in 10 years though it was a member of the Cleveland clearing house all that time, lent money to the two senior officers of the Cleveland Federal Reserve bank, lent 4.9 million dollars to its own directors and 20 million dollars to companies officers were interested in, paid its president \$90,000 a year because 'the increase in deposits justified it,' lent him \$272,000, made a profit on sales of securities to its trust department, made another profit on the sale of some of these securities to its trusts, and had large and costly affiliates in the hotel and real estate businesses."

Propaganda Against Strikes

"Bug wood" cutters working for sub-contractors of the Tennessee Products Company have gone on strike against a daily wage of 75 cents for a 12-hour day, and have organized the Cumberland Mountain Workers League. In the course of dealings with Marion Sanders, sub-contractor exploiting the section in the mountain back of the town of Monteagle, workers were told that they would be in jail if they continued their strike, since now "It's against the law to strike." This same falsehood is being used in many backwoods sections.

No Turning Back

One of the financial services which furnishes advice to its clients makes the following comment in a recent issue: "Oceans of ballyhoo pour out of Washington. Many of the foremost experts summoned to aid in working out the program do not believe that its chances of success are better than 2 to 5. . . . There can be no turning back once the new system is operative. The program aims at a redistribution of national income. It is spreading 'privileges' among masses that will never surrender them. It so tends to concentrate industrial control that government ownership of all industry could readily be brought about; and, proponents of the plan believe, will be brought about if the experiment under private management collapses."

Few Gamblers are Ever Cured

More shares were sold on the New York Stock Exchange in June than in any previous June in history, and more than in any month except October, 1929, reports *Nation's Business*.

What Can Happen to Pensions

Declaring that the old age pension system faces a serious crisis because of the reduction in the State's appropriation and that many aged persons in distress are now being denied aid, the American Association for Social Security has appealed to Governor Lehman of New York to send a special message to the legislature asking for a restoration of one-third of the budget cut of over \$1,500,000.

Supplementing Wages

The growth of socialized wages in Soviet Russia is indicated by the following table, showing the average annual payment per member of a working family, published in the *Soviet Union Review*:

| | 1929 | 1932 |
|----------------------|-----------|------|
| | In Rubles | |
| 1. Social insurance | 37.2 | 40.0 |
| 2. Education | 14.5 | 44.4 |
| 3. Cultural services | 7.0 | 12.7 |
| 4. Medical aid | 24.0 | 34.0 |
| 5. Vacations | 16.8 | 27.8 |

Two-Fisted Munitions Man

Adoption of the N.R.A. code by the Federal Cartridge Corporation of Anoka, Minnesota, according to Federated Press, means fewer jobs and less pay for the firm's employees, if President Charles L. Horn is to be believed. It is said that about 230 girls have been paid 17 cents an hour for the 55-hour week, and there is no announcement of what they will receive hereafter. Horn, described by the F. P. as "one of the biggest labor-hating makers of ammunition in the country," states that men in the higher pay brackets will have their pay slashed. "At the present time we are operating our factory 144 hours a week," Horn is asserted to have said in a letter to employees ridiculing the N.R.A. "We have agreed to reduce our total working hours to 80 a week. This unfortunate situation will mean that in many cases the number of working hours permitted will require reduction of one-third in the present crew. There will be a reduction in earnings. Some of the men in the higher pay brackets will be compelled to receive less money a week. We shall do everything possible to be equal and fair, but Washington has given us little encouragement in this matter."

The Presbyterian General Assembly

We were in error in our last issue in attributing to the Ohio Synod action which was taken by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church meeting in Columbus, where the following official declaration was made: "In the light of the Paris Pact, we declare it to be our faith that the army and navy of the U.S.A. ought never to be used except for the purpose of resisting invasion and that the U.S.A. ought to set an example to the world by adopting a program of progressive disarmament."

Anti-Fascist Paper in the Saar

A new daily newspaper, the *Deutsche Freiheit*, is being published by the *Volksstimme* in Saarbrücken. This paper will be the only independent press on what is still, strictly speaking, German soil. The *Deutsche Freiheit* (German Freedom) is to mobilize the anti-fascist forces outside of Germany and serve as a link joining the political refugees who have been driven out of their native country. A carefully selected body of collaborators will make it possible to provide an objective and realistic picture of political events in Germany. The journal is not intended to compete with Socialist papers in the area of its distribution; it will simply fill the special need of a paper carrying on the special task of fighting Hitlerism.

To Save Terzani

Demands from 1,200 workers presented by six prominent citizens, including Norman Thomas, call upon the authorities to drop the murder indictment pending against Athos Terzani, a young anti-Fascist accused of slaying his comrade, Anthony Fierro, and urge them to proceed against "the actual killer, a member of the Fascist Khaki Shirts of America." Fierro, a graduate of De Witt Clinton High School in New York, was killed while defending a friend who was being ejected from a Khaki Shirts meeting in Columbus Hall, Astoria, on July 14. Roger N. Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, has characterized the Terzani case as "the worst frame-up I have ever come in contact with, and I have seen many." Fierro, he said, was one of thousands of victims who have fallen in the battle for a new order, shot down by those who are protecting the old regime with arms. "Never have I seen a prosecution more scandalous," he stated, "than that of a man for killing his friend, to shield a would-be Mussolini."

Headlines

Not All Follow Matthew Woll

Recognition of the Soviet Union was demanded in a resolution unanimously passed by the Central Labor Council of Everett, Washington, the American Federation of Labor's central body in that city.

Belgian Pacifists Win Out

Léo Campion and Hem Day, the two Belgian war resisters whose arrest and persecution were described in *THE WORLD TOMORROW* for August, have been released from prison. Details are lacking as we go to press, but it is known that their victory was won by a hunger strike which fastened unfavorable attention of liberal forces in various parts of the world on the extraordinary wave of anti-pacifist severity which has been informing the policy of the Belgian government.

Deportees?

A national delegation of workers' leaders under threat of deportation and of workers' families who have been separated by the deportation policy of the Department of Labor will call on Secretary of Labor Perkins September 7 to present their appeal for the cancellation of all warrants of deportation against workers, it was announced recently by T. J. McHenry, secretary of the National Committee for the protection of Foreign Born.

Negro Veterans Not Admitted

Notices sent out to all Post Commanders of Veterans' Organizations and Chapters of the American Red Cross in the State of Florida declare that the Veterans' Administration Home "cannot accommodate Negro beneficiaries." Whereupon the *Crisis* comments: "Negroes who served during the War and who have no adequate means of support are by the fact of race ineligible for membership in a home."

Attacking Company-Union Railroads

The railroads maintaining company unions for their clerical and freight-handling personnel will soon be under mass attack from the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, according to decisions recently reached by the union's grand executive council at Cincinnati. Since over 13,000 new members, not counting reinstatements, were obtained by the Brotherhood in the last two depression years, the council plans to enroll at least that number in the next two months. A drive is also being launched to bring in new members on roads that recognize the union.

A Soviet-Polish Symptom

Indicative of the improved relations between Poland and the U.S.S.R. since the ascendancy of Hitlerism in Germany is the placement of orders, for the first time, in Poland by the Soviet government for ten electric motors. Hitherto such orders have gone to Germany, according to the *Survey of Poland*, organ of the American Polish Chamber of Commerce.

Hope for Child Labor Amendment

Seven states have during the year ratified the Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution—Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, and Washington. Previously only six states had ratified since 1924—Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Montana, and Wisconsin.

Until the Third and Fourth Generations

Tentative Allocation of Appropriation for Veterans' Administration for fiscal year 1934

| | Estimated Cost for Fiscal Year 1934 under Prior Laws | Estimated Cost Under Economy Act | Additional Cost of President's Regulations of June 6, and amendment under Independent Offices Bill | Estimated Cost for Fiscal Year 1934 |
|---|--|----------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|
| World War | | | | |
| Disability Compensation | \$221,728,010 | \$68,610,240 | \$ 49,662,000 | \$118,272,240* |
| Emergency Officers' Retirement | 10,029,827 | 3,300,000 | | 3,300,000 |
| Death Compensation | 39,389,837 | 25,700,000 | 11,130,000 | 36,830,000 |
| Disability Allowance | 101,652,326 | 6,175,760 | 3,967,000 | 10,142,760 |
| Spanish-American War Including Boxer Rebellion (Service Connected) | | | | |
| Veterans | 291,600 | 11,800,000 | 4,985,000 | 16,785,000 |
| Dependents | 330,175 | 700,000 | | 700,000 |
| (Non-Service Connected) | | | | |
| Veterans | 107,026,277 | 21,459,644 | 15,147,000 | 36,606,644 |
| Dependents | 17,124,658 | 7,700,000 | | 7,700,000 |
| Civil War (Service and Non-Service Connected) | | | | |
| Veterans | 24,000,000 | 21,460,700 | | 21,460,700 |
| Dependents | 58,534,100 | 52,680,690 | | 52,680,690 |
| Other Wars (Indian-Mexican-1812) | | | | |
| Veterans | 2,868,188 | 2,248,441 | | 2,248,441 |
| Dependents | 2,025,028 | 1,822,525 | | 1,822,525 |
| Peace Time (Service Connected) | | | | |
| Veterans | 6,400,000 | 5,672,000 | 2,609,000 | 8,281,000 |
| Dependents | 1,389,974 | 2,400,000 | | 2,400,000 |
| Adm. Medical Hospital & Domiciliary Services | 111,273,634 | 77,273,000 | 8,500,000 | 85,773,000 |
| Printing and Binding | 150,000 | 150,000 | | 150,000 |
| Military and Naval Insurance | 134,000,000 | 123,000,000 | | 123,000,000 |
| Hospital and Domiciliary Facilities and Services (Maintenance) | 5,000,000 | 1,000,000 | | 1,000,000 |
| Adjusted Service Certificate Fund | 100,000,000 | 50,000,000 | | 50,000,000 |
| Adjusted Service and Dependent Pay | 2,835,000 | 2,835,000 | | 2,835,000 |
| Total Veteran Activities | \$945,988,634 | \$485,988,000 | \$ 96,000,000 | \$581,988,000 |
| Non-Veteran Activities | 20,850,000 | 20,850,000 | | 20,850,000 |
| Estimated Appropriation | \$966,838,634 | \$506,838,000 | \$ 96,000,000 | \$602,838,000 |

*Cost of presumptive cases is included in this figure. This is the low estimate. Action of the new boards probably will increase it.

Why I Fasted for Twenty-one Days

M. K. GANDHI

THE first question that has puzzled many is about the voice of God. What was it? What did I hear? Was there any person I saw? If not, how was the voice conveyed to me? These are pertinent questions.

For me the voice of God, of conscience, of truth, the inner voice or "the still small voice" mean one and the same thing. I saw no form. I have never tried, for I have always believed God to be without form. But what I did hear was like a voice from afar and yet quite near. It was as unmistakable as some human voice definitely speaking to me, and irresistible. I was not dreaming at the time I heard the voice. The hearing of the voice was preceded by a terrific struggle within me. Suddenly the voice came upon me. I listened, made certain it was the voice, and the struggle ceased. I was calm. The determination was made accordingly, the date and the hour of the fast was fixed. Joy came over me. This was between 11 and 12 midnight. I felt refreshed and began to write the note about it which the reader must have seen.

Could I give any further evidence that it was truly the voice that I heard and that it was not an echo of my own heated imagination? I have no further evidence to convince the sceptic. He is free to say that it was all self-delusion or hallucination. It may well have been so. I can offer no proof to the contrary. But I can say this—that not the unanimous verdict of the whole world against me could shake me from the belief that what I heard was the true voice of God.

But some think that God Himself is a creation of our own imagination. If that view holds good, then nothing is real, everything is of our own imagination. Even so, whilst my imagination dominates me, I can only act under its spell. Real things are only relatively so. For me the voice was more real than my own existence. It has never failed me, nor, for that matter, anyone else.

And everyone who wills can hear the voice. It is within everyone. But like everything else, it requires previous and definite preparation.

The second question that has puzzled many is whether a fast in which an army of doctors watch and guide the fasting person, as they undoubtedly and with extraordinary care and attention watched and guided me, when he is coddled in various other ways as I was, could be described as a fast in answer to the call of the inner voice. Put thus, the objection seems valid. It would undoubtedly have been more in keeping with the high claim made for the fast, if it had been unattended

with all the extraordinary external aids that it was my good fortune or misfortune to receive.

But I do not repent of having gratefully accepted the generous help that kind friends extended to me. I was battling against death. I accepted all the help that came to me as God-sent, when it did not in any way affect my vow.

As I think over the past, I am not sorry for having taken the fast. Though I suffered bodily pain and discomfort, there was indescribable peace within. I have enjoyed peace during all my fasts, but never so much as in this. Perhaps, the reason was that there was nothing to look forward to. In the previous fasts there was some tangible expectation. In this there was nothing tangible to expect. There was undoubtedly faith that it must lead to purification of self and others and that workers would know that true Harijan service was impossible without inward purity. This, however, is a result that could not be measured or known in a tangible manner. I had, therefore, withdrawn within myself.

The fast was an uninterrupted 21-days' prayer whose effect I can feel even now. I know now more fully than ever that there is no prayer without fasting, be the latter ever so little. And this fasting relates not merely to the palate, but to all the senses and organs. Complete absorption in prayer must mean complete exclusion of physical activities till prayer possesses the whole of our being and we rise superior to, and are completely detached from, all physical functions; that state can only be reached after continual and voluntary crucifixion of the flesh. Thus all fasting, if it is a spiritual act, is an intense prayer or a preparation for it. It is a yearning of the soul to merge in the divine essence. My last fast was intended to be such a preparation. How far I have succeeded, how far I am in tune with the Infinite, I do not know. But I do know that the fast has made the passion for such a state intenser than ever.

LOOKING back upon the fast, I feel it to have been as necessary as I felt it was when I entered upon it. It has resulted in some revelation of impurities among workers of which I had no knowledge whatsoever, and but for the fast I would never have gained that knowledge. All the letters that have come under my notice go to show that it has led to greater purification among the workers. The fast was meant not for the purification of known workers only who had been found wanting, but for all the workers, known and un-

known, in the Harijan cause. Probably nothing could have brought home to the workers so well as this fact that the movement is purely religious in the highest sense of the term, to be handled in a religious spirit by workers of character above reproach.

The work of removal of untouchability is not merely a social or economic reform whose extent can be measured by the number of social amenities or the amount of economic relief provided in a given time. Its goal is to touch the hearts of the millions of Hindus who honestly believe in the present-day untouchability as a God-made institution, as old as the human race itself. This, it will be admitted, is a task infinitely

higher than mere social and economic reform. Its accomplishment undoubtedly includes all these and much more. For it means nothing short of a complete revolution in Hindu thought and the disappearance of the horrible and terrible doctrine of inborn inequality and high-and-lowness which has poisoned Hinduism and is slowly undermining its very existence. Such a change can only be brought about by an appeal to the highest in man. And I am more than ever convinced that that appeal can be made effective only by self-purification, i. e., by fasting conceived as the deepest prayer coming from a lacerated heart.

(Reprinted from the *Harijan*.)

Labor and the League

H. N. BRAILSFORD

THE British Labor Party has just issued a pamphlet entitled "Labor's Foreign Policy," from the pen of Arthur Henderson. It is a characteristic bit of work, sober, honest and plain spoken, like the man who wrote it. Much knowledge and experience lie behind it, for Arthur Henderson had sat for many years on the executive of the Socialist International before he became Foreign Secretary in the second Labor Cabinet. Since then he has been wrestling for the best part of two years to extract some modest achievement from the Disarmament Conference, of which he is chairman. The pamphlet is a recital and defence of the foreign policy which the Labor Party has followed consistently since the latter years of the World War, illustrated by copious extracts from the resolutions of its conferences.

That is the "Uncle Arthur" whom we all know and trust. He is, I think, the first honest democrat who ever sat at a desk in Downing Street: he really believed that he was put there with a mandate to carry out the party's will, and very patiently and steadily he did it. And now he sees no need to change. The old policy was the right one: all we have got to do, when we get back to power, is to go on with it, tireless and undismayed. We know this plodding obstinacy of old: it is a great quality. But in these days, with catastrophe staring us in the face, it is possible that our case calls also for a dash of scepticism and for some fresh thinking. Mr. Henderson proposes nothing new, save that he would like to embody with great precision and solemnity in an Act of Parliament all the engagements into which Great Britain has entered under the League Covenant, the Kellogg Pact, the Locarno Treaty and the rest. That would, he thinks, diffuse among our citizens a wider knowledge of our international duty: it would bind us to an honorable observance of our

plighted word, and it would help to restrain a flighty government tempted to plunge into a war of aggrandisement. The young Spanish Republic has bound itself in this way to the League's Covenant in its Constitution. The idea may be a good one, but it stereotypes the accepted policy of the party, when, it may be, we ought to think it out afresh.

The old policy was a League policy. More loyally and consistently than any other party in Europe, the Labor Party had based itself on the League, and sees in it the solution of all our difficulties. Mr. Henderson is not blind to the League's failure, above all in the Manchurian affair and the matter of disarmament. But he will not concede that this failure may be due to anything fundamentally wrong in the League's structure or conception. It can be no better than the governments that compose it, and if some of them take its obligations lightly, of course it does not work.

That is a sufficiently serious admission. For some of us have said from the start that what is wrong with the League is precisely that it is composed of governments, which retain the old-world tradition of the absolute rights of national sovereignty. That is expressed in the League's rule of unanimity. Save in some wholly exceptional cases, there is no way in which the majority opinion of the civilised world can assert itself. One dissenting Power can do it, and a Great Power sitting permanently on its Council can do it forever. Sometimes, of course, a deadlock is broken by bartering, which tempts every Power to play for its own hand. It is just possible that if during, say, the first ten years of the League's life, a Briand, a Henderson, a Stresemann and a Nitti had represented the European Great Powers at Geneva, the League might have consolidated itself and created a living tradition.

But look at the picture today. The Great Powers

have always dominated the League. Of these only four are now inside it. Of these four, two are Fascist. Now fascism, whether in its German or Italian variety, starts from a flat denial of all the principles on which international life must be based. It regards the national state as the absolute unit in morals and politics. It rejects, as Mussolini puts it, "any universal embrace." It dismisses the dream of universal peace as a cowardly illusion, and regards war as "the highest expression of human energy." It stands for imperialist expansion. It is competitive rather than coöperative in its economics. A League based on the opposite principles might in the long run absorb or neutralise, and if need be repress, one minor state of this type. But when two out of four of the Great Powers that dominate it are opposed root and branch to its ideal, what sincerity, what progress can one expect? Mussolini, no doubt, is a clever man, though Hitler is a crude intelligence. The Duce will on occasion for his own ends take a somewhat liberal line on disarmament, or make a really valuable suggestion like his proposal of an international 40-hour week. But he is in a League at which he scoffs, solely for what he can extract from it for Italy's self-regarding ends; and what he wants, as often as not, is deadlock and dissension. One may spare himself the trouble of analysing the loyalty of Nazi Germany. Three Great Powers are outside this League: two of the four within it openly despise it and reject its foundations. Out of these two one is believed to be waiting for a suitable opportunity to withdraw.

UNDER these conditions to go on basing one's foreign policy on the League may argue magnificent loyalty, but it is also to show a distressing lack of realism. It may be worth while to keep the skeleton intact, waiting for the breath of life to visit its dry bones. Certainly we must be true to our own word under the Covenant. Some good work may still be got from the Health Section. But to suppose that this League, so composed, can be used as the instrument of any creative international policy is to hug an inexcusable delusion.

In retrospect it grows clearer that the liberals of 1918 erred in supposing that a League could be soundly based on the minimum of internationalism that the governments of that day were willing to concede. They promised much which they are unwilling to carry out the instant that its execution is seen to involve some little loss or risk with no prospect of national advantage. They united against Germany in 1914 at a very heavy risk, because they reckoned on the recovery or acquisition of territory, and upon the laming of a dangerous trading rival. They would not unite even for the economic coercion of Japan, at a slight risk, because no immediate gain would accrue to them individually. That the whole world would gain immeasurably in security did not move them at all. Some of them may

have felt that to coerce a Great Power was to set a dangerous precedent. If the League coerced Japan it might one day try to coerce Great Britain or France. But could it? Not in the present state of the world's armaments. Against any possible combination of the League's members Great Britain is invulnerable at sea, and France (with her allies) on land.

SO long as we only talk of scaling down armaments proportionately all round, we have not touched this vital problem of the balance of power within the League. We may be doing something for economy, but we are not disarming. The Labor Party believes in "pooled security," and tries to get it by tightening the obligations of the Covenant that provides for mutual defence against aggression. Paper promises will not secure that, as the Japanese case shows. Each member state, including the greatest, must be so far disarmed that it could not think of resisting the verdict of the whole body, while the whole body, no longer seeing any risk in firmness, would not hesitate to speak, and when necessary to act. That means, I think, the abolition of all armed national forces, save a lightly armed minimum to maintain internal order. It also means, I think, that all aerial and naval power must be organised as an international police.

"That is a long way off," the reader objects. No, I reply, it is infinitely, eternally distant, so long as the belief in the rights of the national sovereign state prevails in the ruling caste of every land, save Russia. And it will prevail while imperialism survives. And imperialism in its turn will survive as long as industry is run for the profit of an owning class which never returns to its wage-earners a value that suffices to buy back their products. The starvation of the internal market compels expansion, and that, to escape ruin by competition, ends always in some form of monopoly. But territorial monopolies can be broken only by armed pressure or by war.

That is, I think, very tersely put—the orthodox belief of all Socialists. In our wistful longing for peace after 1914 we tried to forget it. We did not like to reject the Wilsonian short-cut; it might lead to a happier world. Our own road looked long and difficult.

Events, however, are bringing us back to it. We begin—or, the more open-minded of us begin, to perceive that a mixed League of capitalist states, a few of them liberal, more of them Fascist, cannot get peace, because it cannot abandon imperialism. In that case what we must do is to work for the acceptance and triumph of the principles on which alone a genuine League can be based. In that effort our only natural and convinced ally is outside the League. For my own part, I should argue that Anglo-Russian collaboration must be the foundation of the Labor Party's foreign policy.

London, August 15, 1933

Five Years of the Pact of Paris

J. B. MATTHEWS

IT has been five years since all but two of the nations of the world solemnly renounced war as an instrument of national policy. Whatever commemoration of this event (which at a superficial glance seemed to be marked as one of the most significant days of all human history) we are to have, will hardly be official. Unofficial observance will be jubilant or hopeful in precisely the degree of its lack of perspective, its failure to take cognizance of world forces as a whole. Without calling for any kind of commemoration of the signing of the Pact, it is pertinent for an understanding of the problem of peace to ask: Has the Pact made a difference? Was it a step in the right direction or an empty gesture that added confusion to the thinking of the world about peace? Or was it an official concession to a vague and widely held hope that clamored for embodiment in a formal document?

Discussions that preceded ratification of the Pact in legislative assemblies were not reassuring. Reservations, while not made an integral part of the treaty, were so numerous that the effect of the instrument was morally, if not technically, vitiated at the very outset. Territories were excepted; special privileges were claimed; and the right of defense was declared inviolable. What has happened since ratification is even more to the point than what was said by the members of signatory governments at the time.

Since the signing of the Pact, the Supreme Court of the United States has laid down a new test for citizenship in the willingness to bear arms in war, regardless of age or sex or religion or any other qualification that had hitherto been regarded as ground for exemption. The Pact of Paris at best was ambiguous in its application; the decision of the Supreme Court is clear as crystal.

The government of the United States has gone on adding to its expenditures for military purposes, until the greatest contracts for naval construction in all history coincide with the fifth anniversary of the Pact of Paris. Surely the makers of armor plate have no occasion to regret the "outlawry of war" in 1928. If there was any pacifist ostrich left in this desert, even he must have heard the announcement of the enormous increase in appropriations for Japanese naval construction that followed the lead of the New Deal. The Washington Treaty expires in 1935, and the Japanese have announced their intention of seeking parity in capital ships at that time. Meanwhile English Tories are beginning to talk about regaining British supremacy on the seas.

Since 1928 fascism has become a world menace. Then Mussolini was declaring that it was not for export; and hardly anyone took the mad demagogue of Germany seriously. But the irresistible movement of events has brought Europe to a point where the feeble spirit of Locarno and rapprochement is dead. The change from the Germany of Weimar to the Germany of the Third Reich alters fundamentally the character of the state which constitutes the keystone of European diplomacy. The *fatal incident* is a daily possibility and an ultimate certainty. Furthermore, fascism, with its inherent bellicosity, is now distinctly for export to a world market. It is wholly contemptuous of peace, and derives its reckless force from pre-outlawry arrangements.

Economic nationalism is in the ascendancy. The collapse of the World Economic Conference was unnecessary proof of it. The attempt at national economic self-sufficiency has been charted by a rising curve throughout the post-war period. In the full meaning of the word there has been no peace since November 1918; there was only a shift in battlefronts, with tariffs substituted for tanks, and warring currencies relieving army corps. The world distribution of raw materials and natural resources requires a world division of labor if any hope is to be entertained of establishing economic peace.

The stubborn truth of this age is that a system is expiring in obedience to the laws of social decomposition. This system, commonly known as capitalism, has been and is a war-system. We have always assumed that character does not change with the coming of senility; and that death-bed repentances are not genuine. More millions groan under the inequities of capitalism than peopled the entire planet of the pre-industrial revolution period. Such a system is doomed; and the very atmosphere of Western civilization is already heavy with the smell of embalming fluid.

There is, however, a peace movement and a peace force in the world today. It does not derive its impulse from any formal document drawn by the decrepit guard of the Vested Interests. Ineffective it may be to prevent new world conflagrations, partly because of the character of our dominant institutions and partly because so much peaceful sentiment has been diverted to irrelevant peace treaties and machinery, but it alone prepares consciously to lay the foundations of the socialized institutions that must succeed the anarchy and rapacity of blood-drenched capitalism. Let those who cherish fundamental peace join it.



The Book End

With occasional exceptions important enough to merit drastic criticism, THE WORLD TOMORROW reviews only books which it believes, after careful evaluation, are of genuine worth.

A Glimpse of the New Russia

Red Virtue. By Ella Winter. Harcourt, Brace and Co. \$3.00.
The New Russia: Between the First and Second Five Year Plans.
 Edited by Jerome Davis. John Day. \$2.50.

IN the innumerable books which have been written about Soviet Russia in recent years, the human side of Soviet life has been largely neglected. The Five Year Plan has been adequately dealt with; specialized volumes have appeared covering many aspects of Soviet activity; but no one has fully succeeded in presenting a broad picture of the changes in personal relationships, or of the transformation in human nature which we have been so frequently assured could not possibly take place. Yet those who have lived in the Soviet Union realize that the profound changes which have taken place are not all economic in character, nor can they be described even as cultural; the new Soviet citizen is a radically different human being, psychically and spiritually, from the pre-revolutionary Russian.

Miss Winter, who in private life is Mrs. Lincoln Steffens, has caught and depicted this intangible spirit which permeates Soviet life as has no other author. There is no suggestion that Russia has solved the basic problems of human relationships. On the contrary many of them have been intensified by the bewildering changes in the environment, while others have merely been shifted on to a different plane. Nevertheless, the transformation which has occurred in the material basis of life has profoundly modified not only the social superstructure, but also the views and motives of the average person. The elevation of the worker to a position of social prestige, for example, has given a new dignity and sense of personal worth to millions of men and women, which is reflected in the amazing poise and charm of the new Soviet citizen. The emancipation of women has been even more revolutionary in its effect. While the Russian family has not been "destroyed," as many critics would have it, the aims and loyalties of the individual have largely become associated with society as a whole rather than with the family as such. With divorce to be had for the asking, marriage is not necessarily looked upon as a permanent union, yet with the development of greater economic security, fewer divorces have been required. The disintegration of the family as a social force is particularly evident in connection with the children. From the time of early infancy, a large part of the training and care of the child is provided by the nursery and school. Education is intimately bound up with the process of Socialist construction which is absorbing the energies of the entire country. The Russian child is a social being from the start; he accepts his responsibilities of citizenship seriously, and in general finds as much or more enjoyment in his activities as the Western child derives from his meaningless games.

The results of this new life in terms of mental health are

portrayed by Dr. Frankwood Williams as one of a collection of essays in *The New Russia*, edited by Jerome Davis. While very little organization exists for carrying on the ordinary activities associated with psychiatric work, Dr. Williams found that the major problems with which we have been struggling in the United States are practically non-existent, or are of little importance as problems. He attributes this fact to three basic principles which underlie the Soviet regime: (1) that there shall be no exploitation; (2) that everyone shall work; and (3) that in addition to work there shall be a sufficient amount of time set aside for leisure. Above all, the Russian child is taught to have a definite purpose in life; he knows that he will be needed and consequently gives little thought to the inner significance of life itself.

While the remaining articles in *The New Russia* by no means maintain the standard set by Dr. Williams, the book contains a number of interesting and informative glimpses of various phases of Soviet life. Most of the contributors are well-known social scientists, whose interpretations and findings will appeal to the average American who has been seeking "authoritative and unbiased" information regarding the Soviet experiment. Unfortunately, however, one gets the impression from several of the articles that a four to six weeks' sojourn scarcely qualifies a writer to evaluate even isolated sectors of a society which is so utterly different from our own, even though he happens to be a specialist in the field.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

Proletarian Religion

The Negro's Church. By Benjamin E. Mays and Joseph W. Nicholson. Institute of Social and Religious Research. \$2.00.

A REVIEW of this volume might well be devoted to an appreciation of its able documentation, its interesting statistics and the thoroughness of the research of its authors. However, the social implications of the study seem to me so enormous that an attempt to assess them seems of prime importance. The Communists are right in their insistence on enlisting the Negro in getting a leverage on the present system, and this book helps one to understand why they are right. As the study graphically and scientifically tells the story of the Negro's church, it helps the reader to understand the status and potentiality of the Negro race. "Whatever the Negro church is in the United States, it is largely the outcome of the Negro's own genius and his ability to organize," declare the authors.

The outstanding characteristic of the Negro's church is that it is identified with a minority race and with an under-privileged or proletarian class. The authors glimpse the revolutionary significance of its membership and they point out that, "it is usually more likely that the man farthest down will advocate complete jus-

tice for all than that the man farthest up will. . . . They who sit in the seat of the mighty, or those who are racially identified with the ruling class, are more likely to feel that they have too much to lose if they begin to champion too ardently the cause of the man farthest down." Therefore, the authors conclude, "the Negro church has the potentialities to become possibly the greatest spiritual force in the United States" if it utilizes wisely its "potentially free ministry," its social status, its economic independence of the white race and its sense of mission.

FRANCIS A. HENSON

Wartime and Peacetime Propaganda

The Propaganda Menace. By Frederick E. Lumley. Century Co. \$4.00.

NEWSPAPERS of several countries during the war, the letters and pamphlets of the National Electric Light Association, the advertisements in popular magazines, the agitation and trepidation of the War Department, the activities of Democratic and Republican candidates, the report of the Lusk Committee, the sales letters of radical-hunters, and the anthropology of the Nordic cult—these are the primary sources of Professor Lumley's volume. The secondary sources are books by Lasswell, Creel, Rauschenbusch, Chase and Schlink, and uncounted comments culled from *THE WORLD TOMORROW*, the *Nation*, and the *New Republic*. Those who have had much dealing with primary or secondary sources need expect disclosure of no new menace, but it may be handy to have the museum of dangers assembled under one binder.

Judges who think of propaganda as one-sided distortion of a situation, selecting facts to support a pre-existing viewpoint while ignoring the counter-evidence, growing emotional or sarcastic to the point of calling unpleasant names, will be able to find *The Propaganda Menace* itself guilty on all counts. Professor Lumley himself considers secrecy as to the source or purpose of the writing as the essence of propaganda. On both of these counts his book may be acquitted. The author is an avowed liberal, campaigning against all of the things which liberals dislike. He gets in whacks at a variety of matters only tenuously connected by inclusion under the common label of "propaganda." They include priests and medicine men, Urban's speech arousing the Crusaders, the American Revolution as viewed by the Daughters, the opponents of the World Court, big business corporations and "interests," censors, newspapers which fail to put the striker's case fairly, the good-will trips of Lindbergh and the Prince of Wales, advertisements promising a cure for baldness, the *Golden Treasury* and any collection of famous quotations, the Ku Klux Klan, booster stories from Chambers of Commerce, the shipbuilders' Shearer, those who damn Soviet Russia for the familiar reasons, the White House Spokesman, the R.O.T.C. and the Citizens' Military Training Corps, our major political parties, the Taxpayers' League, the extension of remarks in the Congressional Record, the American Defense Society, Fred Marvin, W. H. Whitney, Mrs. Nesta Webster, Count de Gobineau, Bernhardt and Madison Grant.

These hates, some major and others minor, are the common property of liberals. They could be used to build a test or definition. But it is by no means clear that each object of attack is dangerous primarily because of the use of propaganda in the Lumley sense of the term. Before and after the chapter on definitions the author frees himself from the restraints of critical thought, to castigate (usually mildly and by implication) in ac-

cord with a more ancient and general criterion. There is a "we" group, which undoubtedly includes the American Civil Liberties Union, Consumers' Research, Norman Thomas, George A. Coe, Harry Elmer Barnes and Stuart Chase; and there is a "they" group, which appears to include the power trust, professional patriots and recent Republican presidents. The latter are propagandists. It is as simple as that.

GOODWIN WATSON

A Pacifist Autobiography

Some Experiments in Living. By Peter Ainslie. Association Press. \$2.00.

ALL lives that are not utterly drab are experimental, but this particular life, as told by the man who lived it, shows less of the trial and error method than most. This is because even as a young man just out of the Seminary, Peter Ainslie had convictions on three great issues—peace instead of war, friendship instead of prejudice in interracial relations, and social justice instead of exploitation.

One day by a seeming chance young Ainslie picked up a volume of Tolstoy, whom he designates as one of the "unfrosted bishops of the excommunicated," and through him he was released from orthodox thinking on social problems. He also found help through the Society of Friends. From that time on Ainslie was prepared, and in both the Spanish-American and the World wars he preached pacifism. Dr. Ainslie strongly believes that since war has been outlawed, the churches should not send chaplains and that no country would dare to go to war without chaplains. He takes seriously such challenges as that of the admiral who said to the churches: "It is your business to make my business impossible," and that of the general who declared: "In the event of another war every drop of blood that is spilled must be laid at the door of the church."

In February, 1914, he was invited by Andrew Carnegie to become one of the group composed of Protestants, Catholics and Jews formed to organize the Church Peace Union. After a meeting of this group there was informal talk, and Mr. Carnegie asked Dr. Ainslie how far he was willing to go for peace among the nations. Dr. Ainslie explained, apparently to the surprise of Mr. Carnegie, that he felt that another war was inevitable between civilized nations as long as extensive preparations were being made in Europe and that there could be no permanent peace without the abolishment of war. He further stated that personally he would never support another war and made the following significant statement: "I had much rather be shot by my government because I contend for a moral principle, than be shot by the enemy whom I tried to shoot at my government's order." Five months later the War came, and Ainslie remained true to his convictions. He was abused, his congregation dwindled, but he stood four-square against the War.

Dr. Ainslie's experiments in Interracial Friendship constitute an important section in his book. His experiences are told simply, as they happened in his daily life as a minister and as a man interested in the welfare of his fellow-citizens. Among his neighbors there was a Jewish family, and one day when he was walking up the street with two nominally Christian women, a little girl ran up to Dr. Ainslie and caught hold of his hand in friendly fashion. Whereupon one of the women asked, scornfully, "What are you doing with that little 'sheeny'?"—which of course was a cruel blow to the child. Dr. Ainslie excused himself from his companions, went to the child's home and apologized for the in-

sult. Then he called on the woman who had made the remark and she again expressed her surprise at his friendliness with Jews—"a Christian minister making friends with Christ killers." He explained the lack of ethics in her argument. Dr. Ainslie goes on to tell of his own experiments in working in the religious as well as in the civic life of the community. This was really an experiment thirty years ago and counted for much in the good understanding that now exists between the races in Dr. Ainslie's city.

ELISABETH GILMAN

WE RECOMMEND

The First World War. Edited by Laurence Stallings. Simon and Schuster. \$3.50. Here in clever and clear picturization, illuminated by desperately sardonic captions, is the record of the world's four maddest years. Mr. Stallings disavows any attempt to compile as a propagandist, either of war or pacifism; nevertheless, because his work has been realistic and because the war's grim humor cries to heaven of military stupidity and governmental ineptitude, the book belongs definitely in the category of those which "show up" war. We cannot say, however, that the work will thereby serve the peace cause; one could approximate it in gruesome futility with a record of industrial conflict and inhumanity.

Insecurity, a Challenge to America. By Abraham Epstein. Harrison Smith and Robert Haas. \$4.00. To review this volume of 680 pages comprehensively would be like summarizing an encyclopedia. It deals with one of the most crucial questions of modern life in an exhaustive and authoritative manner. All thoughtful persons now recognize the necessity of providing social safeguards for the ravages of unemployment, accidents, invalidity, and old age, and nowhere else can the reader find available so much relevant data within the pages of a single volume.

Public Opinion and the Spanish-American War, a Study in War Propaganda. By Marcus M. Wilkerson. Louisiana State University Press. Paper covers. Professor Wilkerson's study is a highly valuable indictment, based on irrefragable evidence, of the American press in one of the dirtiest war chapters of our history. The roles played by the *New York World* and the Hearst press are especially castigated, not because the author is writing propaganda, but because he has mobilized damning documentary proof.

Capitalism and Its Alternatives. Compiled by Julia E. Johnsen. H. W. Wilson Company. \$2.40. Five hundred pages of excerpts, outlines, bibliographies, in the Handbook Series. The pro and con discussion covers capitalism, socialism, communism, fascism, Hitlerism, and Technocracy. Invaluable for debaters, educators, leaders of discussion groups and students in general. Contains the essence of numerous important chapters, articles, and addresses.

Civil Liberties in American Colonies. The American Civil Liberties Union, 100 Fifth Ave., New York. "Those interested will be carried on a special mailing list for all material published, with indications of how and when to help." This pamphlet deals with the outstanding, and frequently amazing facts involved in our control of the Philippines, Hawaii, Guam, Samoa, Haiti, Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico.

Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi. G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras. Six shillings. A moderately priced, substantial volume, with 12 illustrations and about 235 discussions on a tremendous range of subjects. One can only wish that those who habitually underestimate the intellectual caliber of Gandhi might submit themselves to the discipline of reading many of these 1,072 pages.

CORRESPONDENCE

Invoking St. Francis

A CONFERENCE of a rather unique character was the Institute of Franciscan Studies, held last month at Adelynrood, South Byfield, Massachusetts, the community House of the Companions of the Holy Cross, a society of women in the Protestant Episcopal Church. Under the caption "St. Francis and Today" the hundred-odd people from various religious communions assembled through love of the Little Poor Man of Assisi sought to consider what the Franciscan message had to suggest in the way of social salvation to individuals, to groups, or to society as a whole in this bewildered modern world. Knowledge of the proposed Institute had brought contact with other devout groups or confraternities, and we found ourselves to our own surprise in fellowship with such groups in Italy, Germany, India, Japan, and England. After a moving address on St. Francis by Dean Washburn of the Theological Seminary in Cambridge, and several historical lectures illustrated by admirable charts of Franciscan history, three Round Tables settled to keen discussion of the problems of Poverty and Property, Work and Reward, War and Peace, in the light of the Franciscan ideal; and it was startling to discover how much in our very latest social thinking and experiment had been anticipated in the dramatic story of the friars.

The day began with reciting the Canticle of the Sun, and the Institute ended with a procession to the Cross, where we joined in the great Praises of St. Francis. Of the conclusions reached, an example may be given from the Findings of the Round Table on Poverty and Property:

"The lofty ideal of Francis for himself and his friars of the absolute renunciation of property and the glad commitment to a life of poverty, moves us to translate the ideal into a practicable modern way of life. . . . We are convinced that the unrestricted rights of private property are causal in many present social ills; that Christian principles do not sanction these unrestricted rights; that the Franciscan ideal of absolute poverty is right in motive and in spiritual fact, and in social fact its acceptance of 'use' and denial of 'power' is a valid principle for our present social action."

The temper of the gathering was well expressed in the concluding words of the final lecture on Our Social Order in the Light of Franciscan Principles, given by a young university teacher of Church History:

"If the principles of Francis touch the social order of today at comparatively few places, they touch it to the quick; and as for our own lives, we can escape the tremendous earnestness and radical thoroughness with which he enunciated and lived his principles, only at the peril of our soul. 'The poverty of that man brings great shame upon us.' 'He deemed that when he had something a poor man lacked, he had robbed that poor man.' These sentences should burn themselves into our consciences and haunt us every day of our lives, lest we become impervious to shame, and say, 'all

these commandments have I kept from my youth up,' without even adding: 'What lack I yet?'"

Concrete application of Franciscan principles to contemporary problems was the keynote of the Institute. Parallels to Francis were presented, as when we listened to Mr. Richard Gregg, the friend and disciple of Gandhi, in his exposition of the thought and practice of the Mahatma. Our own thinking continually focused itself in corporate and private prayer. Some, at least, left the Institute feeling that the way to personal conduct and to social action had been distinctly clarified by contact with comrades of centuries ago and of today, in the ageless quest for spiritual and social freedom. Verily the spirit of the Poverello moves today in many lands.

Wellesley, Mass.

VIDA D. SCUDDER

Who's Who in This Issue

Sydney Hunt is at present a resident in Palestine on a fellowship from the Society of Friends.

J. B. Matthews is executive secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Francis A. Henson is an executive secretary of the National Religion and Labor Foundation.

Goodwin Watson is associate professor of education at Columbia University.

Elisabeth Gilman is secretary of the Christian Social Justice Fund.

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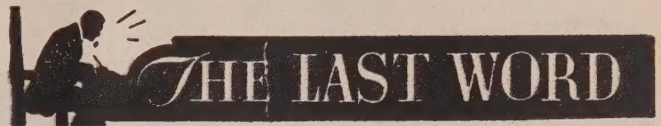
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WE fell to talking about the National Recovery Act; and then we just fell to talking. "No matter how much thought is bestowed upon the unemployed," exclaimed Norma, "some consideration should be paid to the overemployed." There was a tinge of mild bitterness in her voice as it drifted out from the study to the kitchen. "Not once in the N.R.A. will you find any provision for the welfare of the best pals and severest critics who suffer in silence."

"In what?" I imprudently inquired. To which, after a brief pause, she gave answer: "I suppose, by some stretch of the imagination, this kind of labor might be classified as editorial. Trust Roosevelt to let the editors down hard—it's the reporters he deals with. But when it comes to doctoring up this sort of stuff, the Constitution becomes involved. Isn't there a clause against cruel and unusual punishment? Even that won't do me any good, though; nobody could say there was anything unusual about it." I could look in and see her head bent resignedly over my latest article on "The Reaction of Business Men to the N.R.A. and Industrial Planning."

"When it comes to that," I started—but observed that she was not listening. "When it comes to that," I repeated firmly and loudly, scraping the unused butter off a plate with one hand while picking up the dishcloth from the floor with the other, "I suppose you noticed that the N.R.A. specifically exempts from the humane provisions of the law all domestic servants. Sometimes I can't help wondering what provisions, if any, are made regarding beasts of burden."

Sweet and clear, however, came the unperturbed interrogation: "Did you mean to write 'industrial planning'? You've got 'industrious'."

INDUSTRIOUS planning, in fact, is what the land is seeing.

"When better ways of getting around the law are thought of," cry hundreds of our patriotic entrepreneurs, "we will think of them." There is the town, not far from Eccentricus's secluded hilltop, whose chamber of commerce has figured that there must be both a Sunday and a Wednesday closing of retail stores. There are the restaurants which have raised the pay of their workers, only to charge them for their meals. There are the shops turning off faithful oldtime workers in order to proclaim that they have "added 1,000 new employees," who, however, are younger and cheaper.

Less ready than usual am I, nevertheless, to blame the average business man. He is up against it, and whether he knows it or not, up against it for keeps. The profit system can no longer sustain genuine competition. The only recourse of the small employer, if he is to survive, is to cut overhead costs by installing new machines; thereby he increases unemployment; thereby he must reduce working hours and take on more workers while keeping pay at least at a subsistence level. Already, probably, only a 25-hour week would absorb all of our jobless millions; soon, inevitably, even though new machines do create a few new jobs, the figure will be down to 20 hours. That is the vicious circle from which there is no escape under the present economic system, not even should it really become a system, not even when regulated and benevolent. Socialists can be smug about their theories today; but they must still be humble about the quality of their organization. In any case, they ought not to gloat. Toward the majority of smaller business men their slogan might well be: "Don't cheer; the poor boys are dying."

The N.R.A. has devious loopholes. Yet even these ought to strain out, eventually, the chain store organization which, if reports be true, took all its store managers into the firm to escape the purpose of the Act. It should be given a Blue Vulture over the words: "We Do Our Partners."

Eccentricus



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